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rope, costing no less than \$2,000,000,000 annually, and a compulsory military service have inevitably stimulated a warlike spirit. It has been alleged that this vast expenditure was for defense, that it was for the maintenance of peace, but the present war is an irrefutable answer to this argument. Men unarmed are not liable to commit murder; nations unarmed do not engage in war. Again, certain sovereigns have had an insatiable ambition to increase their personal power and to extend the territorial limits of their country, regardless of the cost in men or money. Then, too, there have been the intolerable secret alliances founded upon an outgrown conception of effective statecraft. Added to these causes are racial and religious animosities which have existed for centuries, and trade rivalries and jealousies which have been constantly growing more acute.

"The burdens and miseries of the war will fall not so much upon the sovereigns of the nations engaged in it as upon the millions of men who are fighting in the ranks, upon the widows and orphans in the homes which are made desolate, and upon the generations yet unborn. The wheels of industry are still, commerce is paralyzed, thousands of lives which can never be restored are being sacrificed, and civilization is turned back one hundred years.

"In the midst of this distressing calamity, the peace-loving people of America have no small responsibility. The President of the United States has just asked that the 4th day of October be spent in prayer and supplication for a speedy termination of this bloodshed and woe. Ministers might well deliver sermons directing attention to the utter follies and irreparable losses of war, not only on October 4, but next Sunday and on every possible occasion. A similar responsibility rests upon lecturers, and upon the press. The various peace societies should, with renewed vigor, bend their energies toward creating a universal sentiment for international right reason. Such efforts exerted by a people of a great nation whose neutrality and good faith is undoubtedly, cannot fail to have a salutary effect. The time must inevitably come when the peoples of the world will demand that the controversies between nations shall be settled by some form of judicial procedure similar to that now used in the settlement of controversies between individuals.

"The opportunity of the American people seems at hand. The workers for justice between nations may well be horrified, but they need not feel discouraged. The cumulative disasters following in the wake of the armies, the futility of military theories, the senselessness of it all, are so apparent that the constructive up-builders of civilization may well believe that they are soon to receive a new hearing before the bar of humanity. Let us of America, remembering all that is best and noblest in our traditions, do everything in our power to carry forward the banner of the new international righteousness. We repeat, our responsibility and our opportunity are at hand.

"Therefore we urge upon peace-loving people the country over the importance of immediately discussing among themselves this terrible situation, and of uniting in prayer and supplication today, and tomorrow, and of continuing their efforts on each succeeding day until world peace is restored."

A Memorial to the President.

The following memorial to the President of the United States was drafted by representatives of the organizations therein named at a meeting held in New York City the first week in August.

"As official representatives of the American Association for International Conciliation, the American Peace Society, the Church Peace Union, the German-American Peace Society, the New York Peace Society, and the World Peace Foundation, we view with profound appreciation and gratitude your action in tendering the good offices of the United States to the nations of Europe now at war, under the provision of the Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, the proffer of mediation to remain in force during the term of hostilities.

"We venture to suggest that the United States might appropriately perform a further service towards the re-establishment of peaceful relations in Europe, on a basis which shall prevent in future the mistaken national policies and the enormous armaments which have led to the present conflict, through inviting all the nations signatory to the Hague convention not involved in the present war, and especially the neutral nations of Europe, to unite with our Government in making, on the first favorable occasion, a joint offer of mediation in the interest of humanity, civilization, and lasting peace, in which all nations of the world are equally concerned."

Signed:

Lyman Abbott, William S. Bennet, Alfred J. Boulton, Mrs. Walston Brown, Melbert B. Cary, William G. Choate, Stephen W. Collins, John D. Crimmins, R. Fulton Cutting, Richard H. Dana, Robert W. De Forest, Horace E. Deming, Mrs. Anna Sturges Duryea, Samuel T. Dutton, Mrs. J. Malcolm Forbes, Algernon S. Frizzell, Virginia C. Gildersleeve, A. Augustus Healy, W. J. Holland, Hamilton Holt, William B. Howland, Charles E. Jefferson, Robert Underwood Johnson, Edwin A. Jones, Frederick P. Keppel, George F. Kunz, Mrs. Mary H. Loines, William McCarroll, J. L. Magnes, William H. Maxwell, John Mitchell, John R. Mott, John P. Munn, Edith Wynne Matthison, Eben E. Olcott, Thomas M. Osborne, Alton B. Parker, George Foster Peabody, Miss Mary J. Pierson, George A. Plimpton, George Haven Putnam, William Gorham Rice, Ernst Richard, Jacob H. Schiff, Louis Livingston Seaman, Ernest Thompson Seton, Albert Shaw, William H. Short, Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, Francis Lynde Stetson, Jokichi Takamine, O. H. Tittmann, Benjamin F. Trueblood, James J. Walsh.

On August 19 a deputation, consisting of George Foster Peabody, Hamilton Holt, Dr. Ernst Richard, George E. Roberts, and William H. Short, was received by the Secretary of State at his office and cordially and sympathetically welcomed. Mr. Peabody acted as spokesman in presenting the address to the President through the Secretary of State. The committee feel that the proposals contained in this memorial are of such importance and the present crisis of such profound significance that their case ought not to rest merely on the impression made by their brief argument, and suggest that letters be written to both the President and Secretary Bryan enforcing their appeal.

The committee urge the following considerations:

a. That the matter of supreme importance is not to bring an end to hostilities, desirable as this is, but to obtain a settlement of the controversy, when the time comes, on a basis which shall prevent hereafter the mistaken national

policies and the hostile armaments which have caused the present war.

b. That the whole civilized world is vitally concerned in securing the right settlement of the questions which will have to be considered and determined at the close of the war; that the neutral nations signatory to the Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, and especially the neutral nations of Europe, have equal right with the belligerent nations to a voice in the terms of peace, and that the earnest consideration of the principles and policies which must underlie disarmament and enduring peace cannot be begun a moment too soon.

c. That the Government of the United States, while taking the lead in the proposed action, might properly invite such other interested governments as was thought proper to act with it, in accordance with conditions formulated at Washington.

d. That a favorable occasion shall be awaited before the offer of joint mediation is made, but that a concert of the several governments ought to be secured as soon as possible, so that they shall be in readiness to take advantage of the first favorable situation which may arise for tendering their good offices.

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Some Recent Developments of the Organized Peace Movement in America.*

By Arthur Deerin Call.

The American Peace Society, an outgrowth of a number of peace societies existing at that time, was formally organized in New York City, May 8, 1828. The founder was William Ladd, generally accepted as one of New England's richest spirits, known throughout his generation as "The Apostle of Peace." He was the president and leader of the Society which he founded until his death in 1841. Worcester, Channing, Watson, Emerson, Whittier, Sumner, Burritt are but a few of the names of those who held office in the Society in those early days, contributed to its paper, or spoke at its meetings.

But the facts to which I would call your attention particularly relate especially to the accomplishments of the last five years. In 1909, for example, the American Peace Society, with a free field, had but seven branch societies. Today, after removal to Washington three years ago and thorough reorganization, it has, with many other kindred organizations at work, thirty-one constituent branches, an increase in five years of over 340 per cent. Today there are over seven thousand paying members of the Society, a small number to be sure amid our teeming millions, but it represents an increase in seven years of over 600 per cent. In the last year the Society has added to its paying membership 1,302 members. Five years ago the Society had six "auxiliary societies;" today it has in their place thirteen "section" societies, an increase of over 100 per cent. Sixteen new societies have been welcomed to its membership since January, 1913. Besides this, the Society has two affiliated societies—the Intercollegiate Peace Association, and the Peace Association of Friends in America, representing nearly one hundred thousand of that denomination. There are ten other peace organizations which co-operate with the American Peace Society, those already mentioned, and also the

American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, the Lake Mohonk Arbitration Conference, the American Association for International Conciliation, the International Peace Union at Berne, and the Garton Foundation. (These ten co-operating organizations are not included in the figures and summaries to which I refer.) Our Society has divided the United States into five departments, with a paid man at the head of each department. The American Peace Society, exclusive of the ten co-operating societies, is, we believe, the largest peace society in the world.

The number of additional societies that could be easily organized is limited only by our resources. Friends stand ready in all the unorganized states. We have many letters urging early organization in Hawaii and Porto Rico. The complete and effective organization of the United States for peace, it would seem, has therefore been more than half accomplished.

Among other interesting data pertaining to our last year's work may be mentioned some thirty formal dinners or luncheons, seven receptions, and the printing of thirty original pamphlets and twenty other documents. During the last year 1,500 addresses have been delivered by 150 different lecturers under the auspices of this organization. Practically seventy-five other organizations, business men's associations, clubs, and the like, have been enlisted in the promotion of our work. A dozen of our societies maintain peace lecture bureaus, eight maintain information bureaus, eight maintain press bureaus. Six honorary presidents, forty-five presidents, three hundred and thirty-one vice-presidents, five advisory councils, forty-six secretaries, nine boards of directors, twenty-eight executive committees, three entertainment committees, seven membership committees, three educational committees, three press committees, twenty-two employed officers, and ten equipped offices are enlisted in our organized propaganda.

Considering again the relatively brief time included, the financial operations of our organization present an interesting illustration of rapid development. May 1st, 1913, the branches, sections, and two affiliated societies had on hand \$8,727.21. They received during the year from individual contributions \$10,150.27. They received from subventions \$13,425.08, from special collections \$1,301.02, from memberships in the form of dues \$9,594.00, from the sale of literature \$71.79, from interest upon deposits \$94.30, from legacies \$1,500.00, from invested funds \$420.68, from other sources \$2,816.36. Adding to this other net receipts, the total reaches the sum of \$74,308.16, an increase over five years ago of 340 per cent.

The expenditures may be briefly enumerated: For salaries, head secretaries, secretaries, and clerks, \$14,706.95; office rent, \$2,839.86; traveling expenses, \$1,323.57; telephones, \$560.73; printing and mailing, \$2,316.99; books and literature, \$287.81; postage, including express and telegrams, \$1,563.82; stationery, \$313.47; office supplies, \$865.53; extra help, \$1,566.80; office furniture, \$252.58; for THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE, \$2,180.75; miscellaneous, including prizes, \$7,525.96. Adding to this sum net other expenditures, the total for the year reaches \$64,657.05, an increase in five years of nearly 320 per cent.

If there were time I would describe the work of one of our societies which operates through a committee of

*Abridged from an address delivered at the Mohonk Arbitration Conference, May 28, 1914.